

Bulletin

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MAY 19 1970

INST. 15 1970

Separatism,
The NDP And
Revisionism
In Canada

ALL OUT APRIL 15TH!
LABOR MUST CALL MASS MARCH
ON WASHINGTON MEMORIAL DAY!

The tremendous intervention of thousands of trade unionists and hundreds of union locals across the country in the April 15th actions against the war must go forward with the call for massive labor demonstrations on Memorial Day in Washington and San Francisco. Labor must march on the basis of a program for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia combined with the fight against inflation and unemployment, demanding a break from the two parties of war, inflation and unemployment, and for the building of a labor party.

In San Francisco a number of unions including the ILWU warehousemen, Painters Local 4, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Social Workers Local 535, Office and Technical Employees Local 29 and AFSCME Local 1695 are calling for a work stoppage on April 15th, a labor rally and participation in the demonstrations scheduled on the 15th.

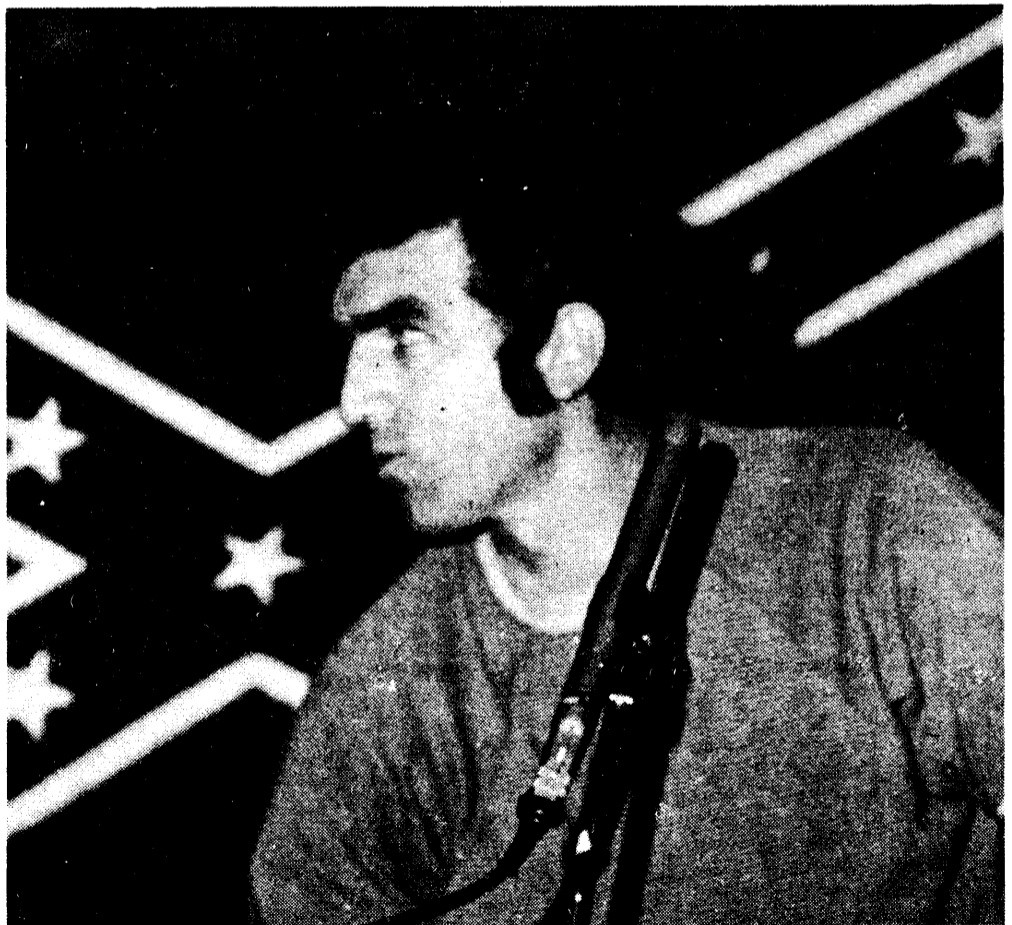
In Detroit the demonstrations against the war have been endorsed by the Ford Local tool and die unit, the Michigan Federation of Teachers, Plymouth Local 51, UAW, the National Association of Social Workers and AFSCME Local 1497. These unions join the hundreds of other locals and unions across the country that will bring thousands of trade unionists into the struggle against the war. From San Francisco to Des Moines, Iowa, to New York City, leaders from major unions will be speaking at the rallies on April 15th.

SIGNIFICANCE

The intervention of the trade unions into the antiwar struggle, even though on a reformist program and under reformist leadership, marks a change in this struggle. This intervention is of greater political significance and contains more political potential than all the past protest marches which have been dominated by middle class pacifists. Despite the leadership of the antiwar movement and the trade union bureaucracy, thousands

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thermo-king ranks fight ge pattern



**what really is the
patriot party?**

TEAMSTER WILDCATS SPREAD!

EDITORIAL

For Labor March On Washington!

(Continued from Page 1)

of trade unionists are entering the struggle against the war. This reflects the deepening class struggle internationally, as the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants are now joined by the militant struggles of the ranks of American labor.

It is the entrance of the trade unions into the struggle against the war and the class action against the war endorsed by the San Francisco locals which shows the potential for a fight that can end this war and defeat imperialism.

This is why the Workers League welcomes the endorsement of the trade union movement for the April 15th actions. We say the way forward from April 15th is to make the action of the labor movement the center of the struggle against the war on an independent class program. This means a fight for international solidarity of the American workers with the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia.

It is this program that the trade union bureaucracy and the revisionists in the antiwar movement oppose. They seek to restrict the struggle in safe reformist channels, anti-tax protests and support to liberal politicians.

ENEMIES

On many platforms on April 15th the trade union leaders will be sharing the stage with the very politicians such as

Mayor Lindsay who gave full support to Nixon's use of strikebreaking troops against the postal workers. These politicians are the enemies of the American workers and the Vietnamese workers and peasants. At the same time the labor leaders use their antiwar speeches to cover their betrayals in the fight against the employers.

The real cement behind the liberals and the trade union bureaucracy is the revisionists. While the Communist Party seeks to bring workers into the struggle against the war, they do so on the program of the liberals, diffusing the struggle against the war into a middle class protest against taxes. Thus, the leaflet distributed by the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee in New York, mobilizing for April 15th opens with a quote from John V. Lindsay, deploring the high taxes New York City residents sent "into the military-industrial empire."

Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have refused to make the trade unions and an independent class fight against the war the center of the struggle. Rather labor is isolated and brought into the struggle as just another appendage to the antiwar movement, together with Women's Liberation, Third World and Black Liberation.

The real movement of labor into the struggle against the war, and the power

of this movement exposes the stranglehold that the liberals, the trade union leaders and the revisionists are seeking to put on it. The ranks of the labor movement must come forward on April 15th and break this stranglehold.

FORWARD

We say the fight against the war and the fight of the workers against the attacks on wages, jobs and conditions is part and parcel of the same fight. We urge all trade unionists to participate in the actions on April 15th.

The only way the initiative already taken by labor can be carried forward on April 15th is on a program to end the war in Vietnam and the war against the American working class at home. The unions must march on April 15th with this program on their banners:

- Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops From Vietnam!

- Against Inflation and Unemployment—For the Escalator Clause in Every Contract and the 30 Hour Week at 40 Hours Pay!

- Against Racism—Jobs for All!

- Break with the Democrats and Republicans—Build a Labor Party!

Above all the labor movement must raise the call on April 15th for a massive demonstration in Washington and San Francisco on Memorial Day.



THEY MARCHED FOR WAR, GOD

BY STANLEY GERRY

On April 4th the nation's capital saw the mobilization of extreme right wing forces for a complete U.S. military victory in South Vietnam. The march, reportedly 50,000 strong but actually nearer 25,000, was organized by a New Jersey clergyman, Dr. Carl McIntyre.

The crowd bore openly racist banners and opposed the "softness" of the Nixon Administration, demanding instead outright barbaric militarism.

The main speaker was Gov. Lester Maddox of Georgia, who with Christian generosity has been passing out, free of charge, axe handles to Southern segregationists. Maddox read Bible quotations in the name of anti-communism.

All trade unionists must oppose these ultra-patriotic actions. We witness now the open anti-working class actions of the clergy who are now coming out to play their role as stupefiers of the labor

movement in the name of vigilance against godless communism.

It is this kind of action which poses in embryo the development of a fascist movement. Just as in Northern Ireland where Rev. Ian Paisley is the leader of a fanatical racist and pro-British imperialist movement which has led attacks on both Protestant and Catholic workers, a section of the American clergy now steps forward to spread this racist and militarist venom to split and confuse the workers who are facing vicious attacks from the employers.

RACIST

These actions have been nurtured by the Nixon Administration. This is the meaning of Nixon's push to put Southern racists on the Supreme Court. It is the anti-labor, racist Southern ruling class that comes forward with its open advocacy of the use of force against the

working class.

These moves are a direct reaction to the militancy of the American trade union movement expressed in the growing strike wave.

The labor movement must answer those gathered in Washington last Saturday by entering in full the demonstrations against the war on April 15th throughout the country, taking up a class fight against the war, against racism, and the attacks on the trade unions.

SUPREME COURT HITS POLITICAL PRISONERS

BY MARTY JONAS

On March 31st, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a major decision, one which will expedite the railroading of political prisoners in the speediest manner. The decision is to allow the binding and gagging of unruly defendants, or failing that, to cite for contempt of court or to try in absentia such defendants.

The decision was handed down for a criminal case, but it was obvious just who it is aimed at. Justice Douglas, concurring in the unanimous decision, stated that he really would have preferred to wait for a political trial to hand down the decision.

Justice Black, in his opinion for the Court, spoke about defending the "palladium of liberty."

These medieval measures are being readied to handle the Panther 21, whose trial in New York has been delayed by their vocal impatience and rage at a judicial system made by and for capitalism. This trial has not been proceeding fast enough for Nixon. The pressure put on the Supreme Court by Nixon, as well as his attempts to stack it with ultra-rightists such as Haynsworth and Carswell are all for the purpose of meting out a speedy "justice" for all political dissidents and striking trade unionists.

The latest of Nixon's moves is the "random selection" of Julius Hoffman to try 12 members of SDS-Weatherman in Chicago.

Compare this brand of justice with the hasty reduction of a sentence to six months by a military court for Lt. James Duffy, who murdered a Vietnamese civilian in the name of imperialism.

WL EXPOSES STALINISM AT SF STATE SMC

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The Workers League recently intervened in a meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee at S.F. State College sharply posing the danger of Stalinism. A number of students were taken through a struggle with the Socialist Workers Party clearly exposing its unprincipled bloc with the Communist Party in the anti-war movement.

The very mention of Stalinism and the labor movement threw these antiwar leaders into a panic. Their main political contribution to the meeting was one motion after another seeking to call the question or rule discussion of the politics of the New Mobilization Committee out of order.

Members of the Workers League demanded that the SMC take a clear class position by fighting to mobilize students to intervene in the Labor Assembly for Peace work stoppage rally around a program of

class demands. The Workers League demanded a fight to expose Stalinism and the labor bureaucracy and the dangers of a new popular front.

The SWP-YSAers present were forced to go to unbelievable lengths to defend their position. Claiming that the working class was not in motion and that the recent explosion of strikes could not in any sense be interpreted as a blow against the war, they proclaimed the high school students the vanguard of the antiwar struggle. They called for a march with the high schools for a high school bill of rights and immediate withdrawal as the key to the antiwar struggle.

ABSENT

The working class was totally absent from their contributions except for one YSAer who thought it might be a good idea to discuss labor and the war in a teach-in. The SWP was simply incapable of defending its position towards the New Mobilization Committee. Indeed, that very day it was distributing a leaflet calling for a link up with the New Mobilization Rally after the SMC rally, listing all the different New Mobilization actions and not raising a single point of criticism.

The SDS clearly revealed its bankruptcy at this meeting. As much as it hates the SWP, it is forced to admit by its attendance that the SMC is the leading force in the student strike actions. It was able to do little more than seek to amend the SWP's perspective with a few bleatings about the working class. It revealed itself as absolutely opposed to any fight to pose leadership to the working class.

Because it is unable to break from Stalinism, it is incapable of doing much more than functioning as a left critic of the SWP. The SWP proposes a student demonstration at the Presidio military base, it counters with proposals for a more militant student demonstration at the Bank of America.

The Workers League was able to rally significant support for its perspectives at this meeting. What emerges very clearly is that the leadership of the SMC is the major obstacle on the campuses to developing a serious student struggle against the war, against Stalinism and reformism in the unions. The development of a Marxist leadership on campus depends on combining this struggle with the complete ideological exposure of the SWP-YSA.

Thermo-King Strike Threatens GE Pattern

BY AN 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS, April 6—Workers at Thermo King (Westinghouse) plant in South Minneapolis, members of United Steelworkers Local 2175, yesterday overwhelmingly rejected the company's proposed contract offer. The vote was 460 to 163 to strike.

Mass picketing began today and thus far has prevented deliveries by Teamsters and postal drivers to the plant and effectively stopped construction on the company's new office addition. The union's official demands, adopted at the Feb. 8th special meeting include: 75¢ an hour wage hikes each year of the contract; full cost of living clause; 35 hour week at 40 hours pay; ban on compulsory overtime and fully paid sick leave.

The company's insulting offer was 50¢ over 43 months, a cost of living adjustment up to 24¢ over that period, a continuation of their "don't get sick" policy, in which workers would get two days sick pay only after five years at the plant, and a refusal to take back all warning slips, suspensions and discharges that arose in the course of the contract fight.

As the April 1st expiration of the con-

tract drew near, it became increasingly clear to the union members that the negotiating committee had not been fighting seriously for the official demands. The ranks were kept in the dark. Out of sheer frustration over 200 workers stopped work on March 12th and marched on the company's office to demand a wage offer. With full knowledge that this march was to take place, the union's executive board and day-shift negotiating committee members left the plant, leaving the rank's leaderless. Only after this episode did the negotiating committee begin to issue several vague and uninformative leaflets.

WARNING

On March 23rd the negotiating committee issued a leaflet indicating the company's wage offer without any comment at all as to what happened to the union's 75¢ an hour and full cost of living demands. These points were raised in the plant in a series of sharp leaflets issued by the Rank and File Committee warning that this lack of leadership was preparation for a betrayal. The Rank and File Committee had its origins in the Dollar an Hour Caucus which fought successfully last winter to have the union go on record for a real contract gain this time around.

As the Bulletin has warned before, only the full mobilization of the union behind its official demands can win. By April 1st when the contract expired, the negotiating committee announced that it had received no full offer from the company. At a special union meeting April 1st, they requested and got an extension of negotiations until yesterday's strike vote meeting. As was shown by yesterday's vote, however, most of those who voted to extend the contract did so with the understanding that there would be a serious change in negotiations.

TERMS

But on April 3rd Thermo King itself let the cat out of the bag when they sent a special delivery letter to each union member outlining the terms of their contract offer. It was made clear that these

terms had been formulated well before the April 1st meeting. In a pointed leaflet issued by the Rank and File Committee yesterday, urging rejection of the contract, it was pointed out that the negotiating committee knew full well what the company's offer was, but did not dare present it at the April 1st meeting. The point of this leaflet was to cut through whatever demoralization had been caused by the 4 day extension of the contract.

The fight waged by the Rank and File Committee was not based on the day to day moods in the plant but rather on the objective analysis of Nixon's plans for a real war against American workers. It has been the upsurge of the labor movement on a national scale, postal workers, teachers, air controllers, truckers and railroad workers which has cut through the demoralization caused by the defeat of the GE strike. This sellout had its initial effects at Westinghouse, Minneapolis Honeywell, and for a certain period at the Thermo King plant itself.

CHALLENGE

At yesterday's meeting the negotiating committee urged rejection of the contract offer. They knew there would be a world of trouble if they urged acceptance. But they did so on the grounds that the fringe benefits offered by Thermo King did not measure up to the GE and Westinghouse settlements, implying that they would accept a total Westinghouse package.

But by their overwhelming rejection of the company's near-GE offer, Thermo King workers have gone way beyond the pattern set by the GE settlement. By going out on strike Thermo King workers have shown they have no intention of settling for Nixon's GE pattern. Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS IUE ACCEPTS GE PATTERN
SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN
MINNEAPOLIS, April 5—Several hundred IUE members at Electrical and Machinery Manufacturing Company in Northeast and Southeast Minneapolis plants voted today to accept the company's new contract offer, a 40 month settlement almost identical to the GE agreement.

The situation here was similar to that at Thermo King. Wage scales are 5¢ an hour higher than Thermo King, and some departments are on a piecework incentive system.

The union's leadership was able to sell this deal precisely because, unlike the situation at Thermo King, no alternative program to the company's rotten offer and no leadership to implement such an alternative developed.

Thermo King workers have the opportunity and the challenge to carry forward the struggle of GE and Westinghouse workers who were so cynically sold out by their leaders.

LETTER

Dear Bulletin:

It seems that the bureaucratic sellout union "leaders" are even disarming the working people of the muscle power that a national general strike could muster, even in defense against the use of troops in the postal strike or against the threats and intimidations of whatever the parties of the bosses use to attack the working people. These high salaried "leaders" are more afraid of the ranks taking over their own unions and really doing what must be done. We can see that they even put off the fight for a labor party always for sometime in the future when every action by the parties of the bosses cry out for the realization of it NOW. Working people are really fed up to here with the bosses' parties anyway! The time for action is now.

J.O.

Teamster Wildcat Strike Spreads!

April 8—Wildcat strikes by Teamsters against the national contract settlement are spreading across the country. From Los Angeles to St. Paul-Minneapolis, to St. Louis through Illinois, Ohio and New Jersey, Teamsters have stopped the trucks from moving.

In St. Louis the Teamsters Local 600 wildcat has forced the two major auto plants in the city, Chevrolet and Chrysler to shut down. Teams of workers from St. Louis are going out to spread the strike into Southern Illinois and throughout the Middle West.

Violence has broken out in St. Louis and other areas in the Middle West as the cops are brought in by the employers and the states to protect the scabs. In St. Louis a number of workers have been arrested. The employers are now preparing to go into the courts and get injunctions to break the strike.

Frank Fitzsimmons, acting President of the union, is attempting to get the ranks back to work and accept the sell-out agreement. The ranks must form a national strike committee to organize and spread this strike until the demands are met. The striking Teamsters must be defended by the entire labor movement against the strikebreaking attempts of the cops and the government.

Teamster Speaks on Contract

(The following is an interview with a member of Local 191, I.B.T., in Bridgeport, Conn.)

Q. What is the general feeling among Teamsters for the agreement reached between the companies and your national leadership?

A. No good. The men don't want it. They don't even want to listen. \$1.10 over three years isn't even going to cover the cost of living—not even with the puny cost of living clause.

Q. What do the members think of the recent actions of your leaders?

A. They're disgusted. We weren't even told anything. April 1st came, the deadline was past. We received no word. They didn't tell us anything because it was a rotten contract. Now they say we're supposed to have a "mail vote." We should have a big meeting to vote on the agreement, but the leaders are worried about the men getting together. That is wrong.

There is even talk from the stewards that the government's using Hoffa as bait for a lower wage agreement. I don't know the truth in it, but its been hinted to us.

Q. You work a lot of overtime. With inflation, how well would you fare with only a straight 40 hour paycheck?

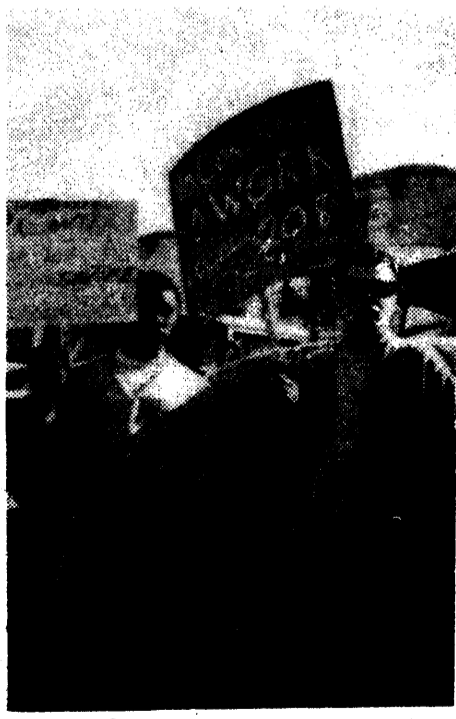
A. Not too well. An older couple maybe—they've had time to get "established." But a young family like mine—we had to get a new car, bills, rent, food. Our rent is supposed to be low income, but I'm barely keeping my head aboveboard, even with my overtime.

Q. How about unemployment and layoffs among Teamsters?

A. Very little, at least around here. I don't know about the rest of the country.

Q. What was the general reaction among Teamsters during the recent Postal strike?

A. We were glad they went out. They need the money. They didn't get much but that strike is like a start for everybody else.



Los Angeles Teamsters also went out.

Q. What do the men think of Nixon?

A. They can't stand him. But between Humphrey and Nixon, what choice did you have. One's the same as another.

Q. Would you favor the building of a labor party based on the trade union movement?

A. Yes, I can see it more and more. But there's no talk about it among the rank and file that I've heard.

st. louis teamsters take lead with solid strike!

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
ST. LOUIS, April 7—Teamsters Local 600, involving approximately 10,000 workers, is on strike here. Local 600 represents over 200 over-the-road drivers, whose contract expired last week and who have succeeded in getting the support of other members of Local 600 to join the strike. One of the sections of the local, the steel haulers, are out over

their own contract dispute as well.

Local 600 is striking against the national contract settlement and hoping that Local 705 in Chicago, which negotiates independently of the national contract, will get a better agreement. The workers want the \$1.70 per hour increase which was compromised in the national contract. If Local 705 gets this increase or strikes for it, Local 600 will have more strength in the fight against the national contract.

The striking members of Local 600 are now carrying signs saying: "No Contract, No Work." There is tremendous resentment among the ranks against the national leadership.

The strike in St. Louis is solid. The first night of the strike the bosses tried to move a Lee Way truck and the cops were enlisted to escort the scabs. While the cops were talking with the bosses, their tires were slashed.

The workers are now stopping all trucks going through St. Louis, and asking the drivers to park them and honor the strike. Fifteen drivers left their trucks outside a cafeteria and went home, saying they would not go back to get the trucks until the contract is signed.

Throughout the country there is growing resistance to the settlement. The other locals must take up the fight launched by Local 600 and spread the walkout across the nation.

Bulletin

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POSTMEN FIGHT NIXON'S 6% AND REORGANIZATION

BY DAN FRIED

President Nixon is sending a bill to Congress that is intended to provide an agreement with the postal workers who only a short while ago shut down the world's largest postal system. But the immediate 6% wage increase contained in the bill—an increase slated for all other Federal white collar employees as well—and accepted by leaders of seven national postal unions, is being met with cries of "sell out" by postal workers throughout New York City. Talk about another strike is rampant.

In Pittsburgh, Letter Carriers Branch 84 voted to strike if New York Letter Carriers (Branch 36) goes out again. Once again, all eyes are turned to New York, where the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union put up notices in some 65 New York Post Offices which read: "The Post Office and seven national exclusives have reached an agreement to sell out the workers in the Metropolitan area." The leaders of Branch 36, National Association of Letter Carriers, have also opposed the bill.

Nationally, David Silverfeld, President of the National Postal Union also denounced the agreement, saying that the 8% increase promised as an addition to the immediate 6% was "more image than substance" because it is tied to postal reform. In other words, the postal employees will get this additional 8% IF AND WHEN the bill gets passed by Congress. The whole thing is a "package deal" wrapped up by Nixon. One of the worst parts of the package, in addition to the establishment of the postal corporation, is the 67% increase in the first class postage rate per ounce which will hit at every worker in the country.

DOOM

Right now the ball is being batted back and forth between Nixon and the Congress. Congress in an election year wants to avoid the blame for passing the new 10¢ postage rate. Even if the

postal reform goes through to establish the Post Office as an "Independent Authority" and gives the workers the additional 8% raise, this will be the beginning of a postal "reorganization" and "modernization" that is bound to doom thousands of jobs, lead to increased speedup and further deterioration of working conditions.

In addition the proposed bill does not give any pay differential to workers in cities like New York where the cost of living is abnormally high, does not provide for government payment of health and welfare insurance, and contains no escalator clause to protect against more inflation. It is clear why militants in New York and Pittsburgh are talking about another strike.

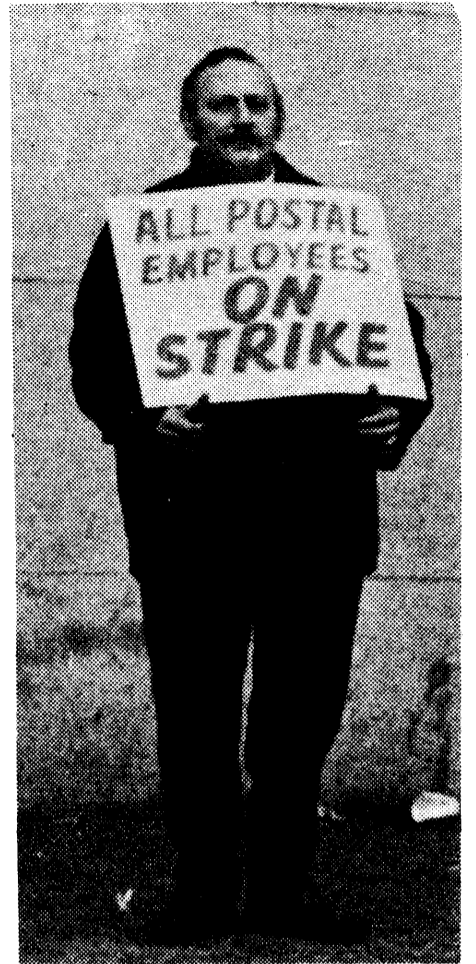
MEANY

Behind the proposed sellout are the national postal union leaders including the notorious James Rademacher of the NALC, who was denounced as a "rat" during the strike by the rank and file. George Meany has also come out 100% in support of the "reorganization" bill. "People in the field don't know what the bill contains, and once they look at it they will know it is not a sellout," said Meany. Meany who does not even have the gumption to oppose the 10¢ postage

rate is continuing the policies he followed during the strike when he stabbed the strikers in the back and dealt a blow to the entire labor movement by backing Nixon's use of troops.

During the postal strike, the betrayal of the postal union leaders and the entire labor bureaucracy saved the day for Nixon. But the President is still not out of the woods, as the renewed possibility of wildcat strikes is raised. Once again, the question of leadership will be decisive. In the event of another strike, a national rank and file strike committee will be needed, together with the support of the entire trade union movement.

At right is a New York postman during the recent strike. The workers went back on the promise that they would receive a 12% wage increase retroactive to last October. The leadership has agreed to Nixon's 6% plus more tied to a reorganization deal which will mean speed-up and job cuts.



Greek Generals Celebrate Dictatorship

BY LOU BELKIN

As the military junta in Greece makes plans to celebrate three years of brutal dictatorial rule this week, thousands rot in jails, thousands more lay buried, the victims of swift and heinous murder. Trade unions and political parties are proscribed and all civil liberties have been suspended.

In preparation for the celebration, the dreaded military chief, Grivas, commenting on recent peasant and worker unrest in Cyprus, culminating in the attempt on

Makarios' life, exhorted the noble Archbishop and the military to join forces, crack the whip and establish military dictatorship on that island.

Up to now reprisals on the part of the Greek junta have excluded the bourgeois businessmen and intellectuals, those who felt somewhat uneasy about the coup, but saw in it a respite from constitutional bickering and working class and peasant unrest. Even these elements now come under the thumb of Papadopoulos. It was announced on April 1st that two "plots"

have been uncovered. The first involves "slandorous" remarks made in a daily Athens paper against the government by five newspaper executives and a former government minister. The other is a sedition charge levelled at 34 Greeks accused of exploding bombs and distributing inflammatory literature. Sentences are being meted out forthwith, following tortures and forced confessions.

The newspaper publishers, along with former rightist minister Zigdis, were charged with printing an interview in the newspaper *Ethnos* calling for the "restoration of democracy" and the formation of a "National Unity government." Mr. Zigdis, former Industry Minister in the coalition government from 1962-1965, told the courts that he had been duped by announcements that the Greek press was free! The prosecutor replied: "Greece is now going through a transitional period that bridges the rotten past with a healthier future." In the current sedition trial, former rightist Canallopoulos, whose regime was toppled by the military junta, appeared as witness for the defense. He too deplored the forced confessions, the tortures, the lack of democracy.

What the prosecuting attorney in the newspaper case means to say, for the benefit of the liberals, pacifists and Stalinists, is that the old "National Unity" slate, the former coalition government headed by Canallopoulos, was and is incapable of dealing with the profound economic crisis of capitalism in Greece and internationally. In other words the constitution, the monarchy and freedom of the press, in which the reformists placed so much faith, could not stem the tide of working class and peasant revolt which racked the country in strike after strike, demonstration after demonstration and armed battles since the end of World War II.

BRITISH TROOPS FIRE ON CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Reinforcements for the British occupation forces in Northern Ireland were flown into Belfast on April 4th. They were immediately deployed with "shoot-to-kill" orders to smash the resurgence of protests and rioting by both Protestant and Catholic workers and youth.

The last two weeks have seen violent clashes between Catholic and Protestant workers and youth on one side and the 6,000 British troops stationed in North Ireland to "protect" the Catholics.

The struggle began with an attack by Derry working class youth on a police barracks in commemoration of the Easter Rising and the murder of the Irish socialist James Connolly over 50 years ago, and the stoning of Sir Arthur Young, Inspector-General of the hated Royal Ulster Constabulary. Young is well experienced in putting down freedom struggles in Kenya and Malaya. It ended with the British troops gassing crowds of

workers and armored cars illuminating workers' housing projects with searchlights like Nazi concentration camps.

On Easter Sunday, nine Catholic youths were arrested by the troops and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, specially brutal elitist cops, for tearing down a Union Jack off a police station in Ulster. The Union Jack is the symbol of the dominance of British capital.

TWO FRONTS

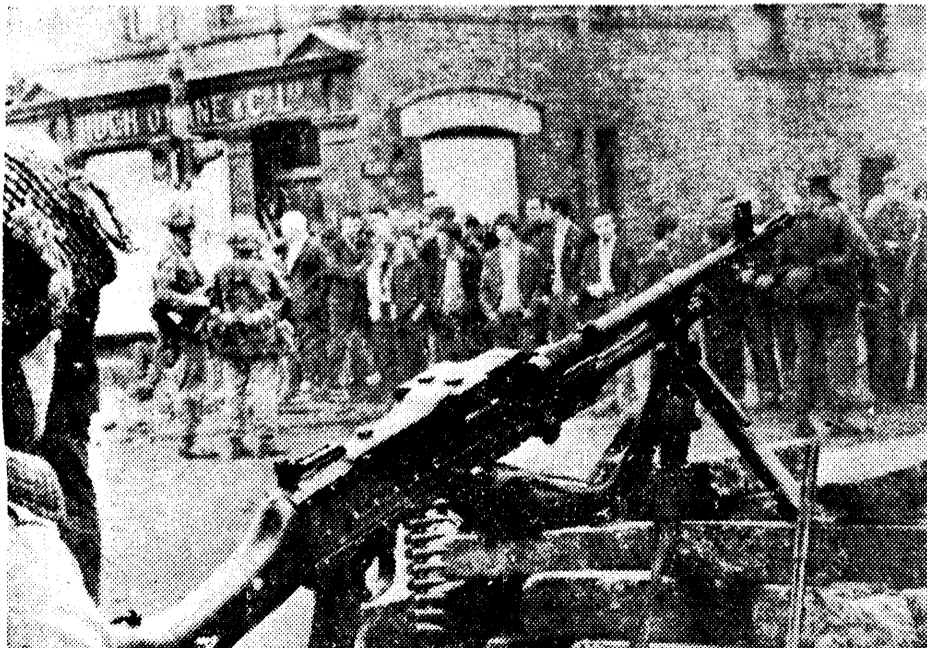
Last week the troops and the RUC fought battles on two fronts as they were pelted from behind both Catholic and Protestant barricades. The British oc-

cupation becomes harder and harder to maintain as the Northern Irish working class becomes ever more determined to smash the capitalist system of dictatorship, religious discrimination, unemployment and poverty.

Unemployment has been in the double figures for a year now as the North Irish working class is made to pay for the crisis in British capitalism. The shipyards which are the main source of jobs in North Ireland are like haunted castles since the British bosses cannot afford to put them into operation.

The British and North Irish capitalists are determined to use their cops and troops, their fascists like the Rev. Ian Paisley, to divide the working class on religious lines and prevent it from fighting back.

But clearly the working class is even more determined not to be destroyed. The North Irish working class must throw out British imperialism, its troops, its cops, its partition. Only by coming to power in its own right can the Irish working class accomplish this.



British troops man machine gun as Belfast workers gather on opposite corner of street.

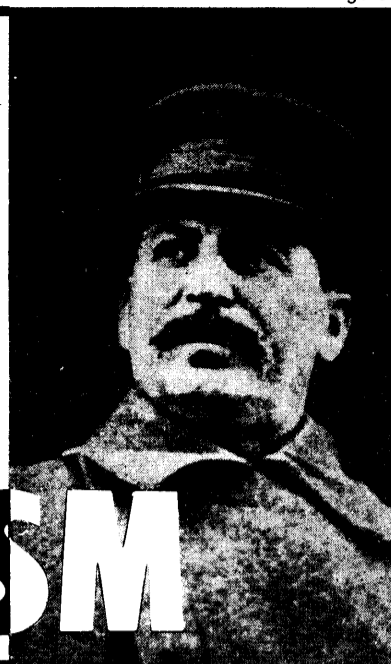
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STALINISM

& TROTSKYISM IN USA

an answer to Hyman Lumer and others
 by **FRED MUELLER**



AT EVERY POINT the Stalinists' aim is to drive a wedge between Lenin and Trotsky, to portray them as the bitterest enemies at every crucial point in the history of the revolutionary movement. This is the basis upon which the Stalinists proceed to appropriate Lenin, to claim him for their own while fighting what he stood for with every resource at their command.

We have shown how, contrary to Stalinist myth, Lenin and Trotsky and the entire Bolshevik Party opposed the conception of building socialism in a single country. But this was the banner under which the entire campaign against Trotskyism and the permanent revolution was waged. In order to wage this campaign the Stalinists had to create their own version of Bolshevik Party history.

Lenin and Trotsky were in complete agreement against the conception of socialism in one country, but this does not mean there were no theoretical differences between them. There were differences prior to 1917 on the theory of permanent revolution, and the Stalin faction and all of its heirs have made the most of this. They have waged a campaign of lies on this score also. We must understand precisely what these theoretical differences were and how they were resolved in the test of the class struggle itself.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The perspective of Trotsky outlined as early as 1905 can be summed up

in the formula "the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry." We have already seen how the Mensheviks at this time had moved definitively over to the conception that the Russian Revolution would be a bourgeois revolution. They saw no independent or leading role for the working class. The Menshevik conception can be summed up in the formula, "bourgeois democracy supported by the proletariat."

Lenin and Trotsky put forward the perspective of a revolutionary alliance of the proletariat and peasantry against the bourgeoisie. The difference lay in the relationships between the proletariat and peasantry in this alliance. Trotsky answered this by saying that the proletariat would have to be the leadership, that the peasantry was incapable of playing an independent or leading role. Lenin left this question open. This difference was put to the

test in the revolutionary cauldron of 1917. The outcome indicated that Trotsky had been closer on this question to indicating the outline of events, and also that there were no fundamental differences between Lenin and Trotsky when theory was given its highest expression in practice.

Trotsky assessed this as follows in 1929:

If my old differences of opinion with Lenin are analyzed not on the plane of quotations indiscriminately torn out of this and that year, month and day, but in their correct historical perspective, then it becomes quite clear that the dispute, at least on my part, was not over whether an alliance of the proletariat with the peasants was required for the solution of the democratic tasks, but over what the party-political and state form the revolutionary cooperation of the proletariat and the peasantry could assume, and what consequences could result from it for the further development of the revolution.(13)

Trotsky shows that the differences between Lenin and himself have been exaggerated. In 1909 Lenin supported the formulation of "the proletariat which leads the peasantry behind it," almost identical to the formulation of the theory of the permanent revolution.

While Lenin, always proceeding from the leading role of the proletariat, emphasized and developed in every way the necessity of the revolutionary democratic collaboration of the workers and peasants - teaching this to all of us - I, invariably proceeding from this collaboration, emphasized in every way the necessity of proletarian leadership, not only in the bloc but also in the government which would be called upon to head this bloc. No other differences can be read into the matter.(14)

And Trotsky sums up the assessment as follows:

Assessed historically, the old slogan of Bolshevism - 'the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' - expressed precisely the above-characterized relationship of the proletariat, the peasantry and the liberal bourgeoisie (alliance of proletariat and peasantry against the bourgeoisie). This has been confirmed by the experience of October. But Lenin's old formula did not settle in advance the problem of what the reciprocal relations would be between the proletariat and the peasantry within the revolutionary bloc. In other words, the formula deliberately retained a certain algebraic quality, which had to make way for more precise arithmetical quantities in the process of historical experience. However, the latter showed, and under circumstances that exclude any kind of misinterpretation, that no matter how great the revolutionary role of the peasantry

I. HYMAN LUMER FALSIFIES HISTORY (CONTINUED)

What about Lenin and the Bolsheviks in this period? The position of Lenin can be summed up in the formula, "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." Both

test in the revolutionary cauldron of 1917. The outcome indicated that Trotsky had been closer on this question to indicating the outline of events, and also that there were no fundamental differences between Lenin and Trotsky when theory was given its highest expression in practice.

The Stalinists seek at every point to drive a wedge between Lenin and Trotsky, shown here reviewing the Red Army, and to do so they are forced to completely falsify history.



PHOTOS AT TOP OF PAGE: Upper left: "For Victory and a Secure Peace" Daily Worker, May 14, 1944; Upper center: CP rally in 1936 celebrates "Spirit of '76"; Upper right: Stalin; Lower center: Trotsky; Lower right: Battle of Deputies Run during Trotskyist led teamsters strike in 1934

may be, it nevertheless cannot be an independent role and even less a leading one. The peasant follows either the worker or the bourgeois. This means that the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' is only conceivable as a dictatorship of the proletariat that leads the peasant masses behind it.(15)

Trotsky is here referring to the 'historical experience' of the February and October Revolutions of 1917. In 1917 it was shown that Lenin and Trotsky were in agreement on the perspective of the proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry. Thus the October Revolution became the historical verification and expression of the theory of the permanent revolution. Lumer may not like this but it is the verdict of history.

APRIL THESES

When Lenin took up the cudgels against people like Kamenev and Stalin upon his return to Russia in April of 1917 he was waging a struggle for Bolshevism against the same kind of 'old Marxism' he had battled in 1903. He mercilessly attacked those who used the formula of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry to cover an opportunist line. He showed how the repetition of the old formula in the new situation became not merely imprecise but an excuse for accommodation to the bourgeois provisional government which had been set up following the overthrow of the Czar.

Even before he returned to Russia Lenin had made clear where he stood. On March 6 he telegraphed to Petrograd: "Our tactic; absolute lack of confidence; no support to the new government; suspect Kerensky especially; arming of proletariat the sole guarantee; immediate elections to the Petrograd Duma; no rapprochement with other parties."(16) On March 17 Lenin wrote, "our party would disgrace itself forever, kill itself politically, if it took part in such deceit (support for the imperialist war)...I would choose an immediate split with no matter whom in our party, rather than surrender to social patriotism."(17) In these communications Lenin made his views very clear. Yet at the end of this month, just before Lenin arrived, most of the "old Bolsheviks", led by Kamenev and Stalin, proposed unity with the Mensheviks and critical support for the Provisional Government!(18)

In his April Theses Lenin punctured all of this opportunism. He insisted that the republic issuing from the February Revolution was not our republic, that the war it was waging was not ours, that the Bolsheviks must orient towards the overthrow of the imperialist government. This required a strategy of breaking the masses from their present Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary leadership. "We must patiently explain."(19)

As late as April 8, the Bolshevik Pravda wrote: "As for the general scheme of Comrad Lenin, it seems to us unacceptable in that it starts from the assumption that the bourgeois democratic revolution is ended, and counts upon an immediate transformation of this revolution into a socialist revolution".(20) It is almost as if Lumer had taken his denunciations of Trotskyism straight out of the Pravda edited by the conciliators to Menshevism in April 1917!

OLD BOLSHEVIKS

Lenin was extremely sharp in his condemnation of the so-called "old Bolsheviks." At the beginning and for several weeks he had almost no support. Kalinin, later a loyal follower of Stalin, said of April 14: "I belong to the old Bolshevik Leninists and I consider that the old Leninism has not by any means proved good-for-nothing in the present peculiar moments, and I am astonished at the declaration of Comrade Lenin that the old Bolsheviks have become an obstacle at the present moment."(21)

Trotsky sums up the theory of permanent revolution in relation to the April crisis in the Bolshevik Party:

When I arrived in Petrograd, nobody asked me if I renounced my 'errors' of the permanent revolution...Kamenev accused Lenin of Trotskyism and declared when he met me: 'Now you have the laugh on us.' On the eve of the October Revolution, I wrote in the central organ of the Bolsheviks on the prospect of the permanent revolution. It never occurred to anyone to come out against me. My solidarity with Lenin turned out to be complete and unconditional. (22)

Trotsky came over to Lenin in 1917 in the heat of the struggle, through the class struggle and its theoretical expression in the revolutionary movement. He came over to Lenin's conception of the party and the need for a relentless struggle against opportunism in all its forms, and their disagreements over the nature of the Russian Revolution were resolved in practice and were shown to be of a more abstract and algebraic character. Lenin fought, not Trotsky, but all of the opportunists, including Stalin. The campaign against Trotskyism beginning in 1924 was meant to distort this crucial part of Bolshevik history.

What does Lumer say about all of

this? "In the late summer of 1917, Trotsky joined the Bolsheviks." That is all! He cannot mention, let alone explain, the April Theses.

Lumer goes on to admit that Trotsky played an important role in the Revolution. This is a damning admission but the best that Lumer can do to account for it is to refer to Trotsky's effectiveness as a speaker and writer! He says nothing about the political and theoretical questions which shook the Bolshevik Party precisely at that time in preparation for the revolution.

How important was Trotsky's role and how was he able to play it? Why did Lenin say that after his coming over to the party there had been no

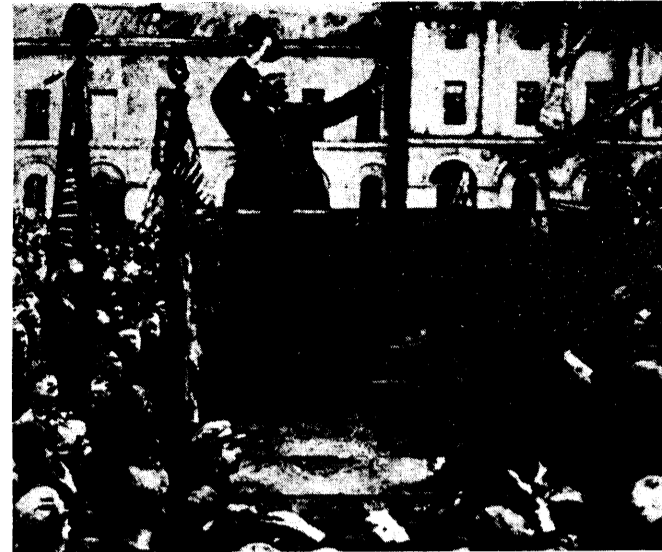
better Bolshevik? Trotsky was in fact the co-leader of the October Revolution, which Lumer cannot bring himself to acknowledge. He was one of the key leaders because he had assimilated most of the fundamentals of Bolshevism. Lumer would have us believe that the co-leader of the greatest revolution in history was a counter-revolutionary who could write and speak effectively! It was some kind of accident perhaps, the revolution demanded speakers and writers, everyone had a chance to "do his thing."

LIES

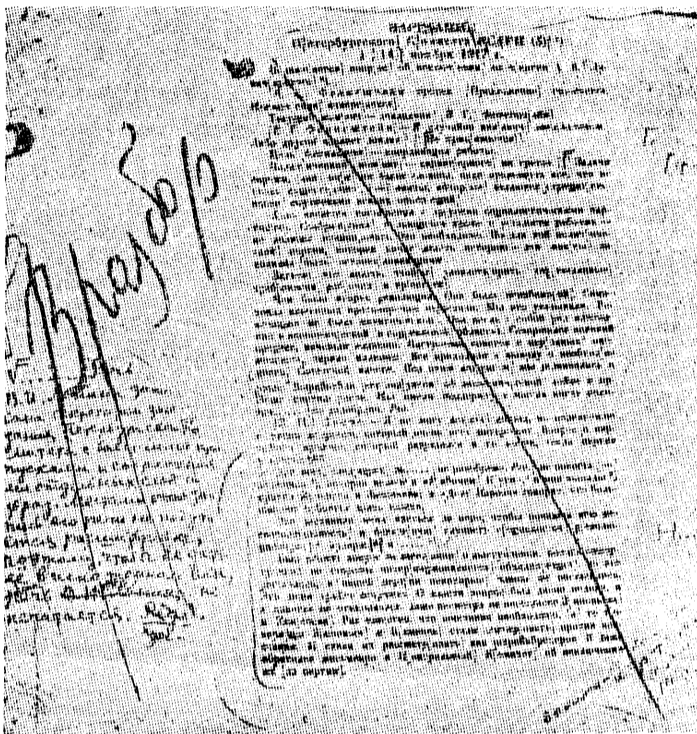
We cannot go along with Lumer's lies. We cannot accept his completely



Right above is a contemporary Stalinist painting of the famous scene photographed at left. Note that Trotsky and Kamenev, shown to the



right of the speaker's platform in photo, have been removed from the painting.



Above is the suppressed page of the Minutes of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks reporting Lenin's remarks about Trotsky. The handwriting in the left-hand column is that of the Stalinist censor—it says 'junk this'.

FALSIFICATION AND TRUTH

The Stalinists have resorted to the most blatant forgeries of the historical record to remove Trotsky, the co-leader of the October Revolution and organizer of the Red Army, from the official history.



Lenin (center) in conversation



Commissar of War Leon Trotsky addressing Red Army soldiers during the war with Poland in 1920. Lumer mentions only Trotsky's writing and speaking abilities.



to, have been completely re-

TION



in conversation with Trotsky (left) and Kamenev.



The above photo shows the Bolshevik victory being celebrated in Vladivostok with a parade. Note posters of Lenin and Trotsky as well as Karl Liebknecht.



Above is a postcard which was widely circulated on the first anniversary of the October Revolution, entitled "The leaders of the Proletarian Revolution", showing (1) Lenin, (2) Trotsky, (3) Zinoviev, (4) Lunacharsky, (5) Kamenev, (6) Sverdlov. Most of these men were later removed from the official histories of the Soviet Union.

reflected the tremendous social pressure of the bourgeoisie which was being brought to bear against the Revolution. They reflected as well the privileged social layers within the Soviet Union which also reflected the pressure of imperialism and which were crystallizing into a bureaucratic caste with interests separate and opposed to the masses of the workers and the poor peasantry. Socialism in one country became the theory of the bureaucracy. It is the basis for all its future betrayals and crimes.

Trotsky's policy was Lenin's policy. They based the future of the workers' state on the world working class and its struggles, not on utopian schemes of self sufficiency as an isolated socialist outpost in a capitalist world.

STALIN

Stalin's policy was based upon defeatism, upon an assumption that the international proletariat had been defeated for an entire epoch. Behind the theory of building socialism in a single country lay the conviction that it was hopeless to expect aid from the advanced workers.

The theory of socialism in one country meant nothing if it did not mean worldwide defeat of the working class. Stalin had to proceed from the conception of socialism in one country to the practice of socialism in only one country, from the conception that the working class had been set back to the practice of helping to set the working class back. The logic of the new revisionism was betrayal and this betrayal became conscious betrayal.

As we have indicated the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism was not simply the clash of ideas but of class forces. We see the same forces in conflict today. It is the conflict between reform and revolution. Reformism in a revolutionary epoch becomes counterrevolution. This is the meaning of Social Democracy and this is the meaning of Stalinism.

When Lumer says, in reference to Trotsky:

It (Trotskyism) could only lead to a process of degeneration ending in counterrevolution disguised in revolutionary verbiage and having as its main objective the overthrow of the Soviet regime in the name of 'saving the revolution.' And this, history records, is exactly what happened to Trotsky and his followers. It is just such a counterrevolutionary sect, masquerading in the garb of revolution, that Trotskyism became.(23)

We say, on the contrary, that history records the exact opposite. It was Stalin who allied himself with counterrevolution. It was Stalin who slaughtered the Bolshevik Party in the name of 'saving the revolution.'

We are not here speaking of mistakes, but of conscious betrayals. We turn every slanderous accusation back in the face of Lumer and his associates. Lumer is nothing but an accomplice and apologist for the murderers of Bolshevism.

HISTORY

What does history record? Who bears responsibility for the purge trials and the frame ups? Is it Stalinism or Trotskyism? Lumer should speak up on these questions! He is silent although he finds the space to denounce Trotskyism as a counterrevolutionary sect.

On other occasions Lumer and his fellow Stalinists have been forced to admit the true nature of some of Stalin's crimes, although by no means all. They remain silent on the assassination of Trotsky, and for very good reason. They cannot touch the question of Trotsky because it means opening up all the political questions.

The Stalinists are prepared to admit some, at least a few of Stalin's crimes. At the same time they insist all the more strongly on the correctness of the theory of socialism in one country, and of the whole struggle against Trotsky. But it was this theory and the struggle for it which ended in the destruction of the Bolshevik Party. So we are left with the explanation that Stalin was politically correct but also the murderer of an entire generation of revolutionists! Trotsky was a counterrevolutionary who led a revolution!

Lumer charges that Trotskyism allied itself with and became counterrevolutionary. Who was it that made the pact with Hitler and declared that fascism was 'a matter of taste'? Stalin accused Trotsky of making secret deals with Hitler but history records that it was Stalin who made the deal and who secretly negotiated with the Nazis at the very same time

shallow, subjective and idealist version of the revolution and of Lenin's and Trotsky's role. Furthermore he is lying and he knows it.

Bolshevism in 1917 was the permanent revolution in practice. It was the implacable exposure not only of the bourgeoisie but of all its agents within the working class. It was the dialectical understanding of the conditions in Russia and internationally, as opposed to the repetition of old formulas. It was the rallying of the working class and the peasantry behind transitional slogans which expressed the aspirations of the oppressed masses and exposed the perfidy of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists. It was the ruthless struggle by Lenin and

Trotsky together against all the Lumers and Gus Halls of that period. It was the grasping of the revolutionary opportunity at precisely the right moment.

PRESSURE

Both in March-April and in October, the pressure of the bourgeoisie was inevitably reflected within the Bolshevik Party itself. The wing of the party around Kamenev and Stalin lagged far behind the events. They conciliated the Mensheviks after the February Revolution. Zinoviev and Kamenev openly denounced the plans for the insurrections and were nearly expelled from the party. Then as now the political and theoretical differences

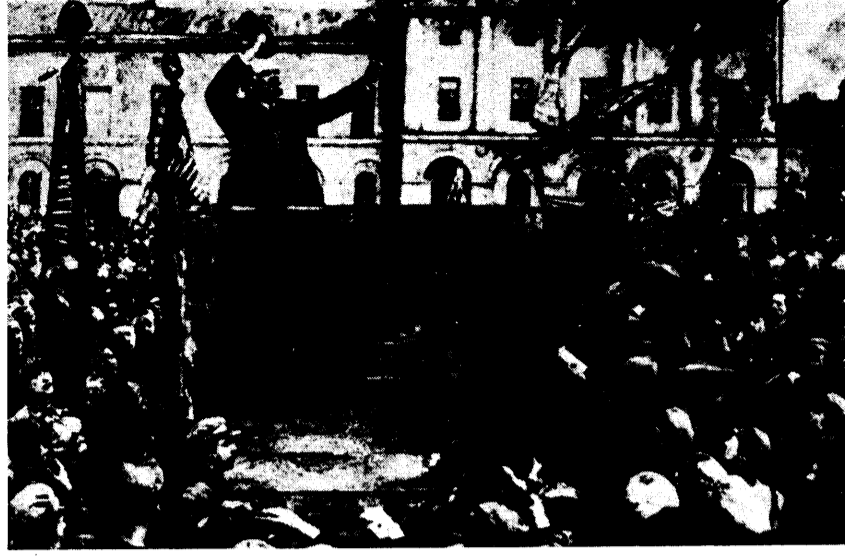
reflecting the clash of opposing social forces did not remain on the level of ideas but moved onto the level of material reality.

What was Stalin's role? The man who was to become the chief spokesman for socialism in one country called for support to the provisional government in March and simply retreated from the struggle in October as the moment for the seizure of power approached. He maintained the same doubts expressed openly by Zinoviev and Kamenev and he played almost no role in the revolutionary events.

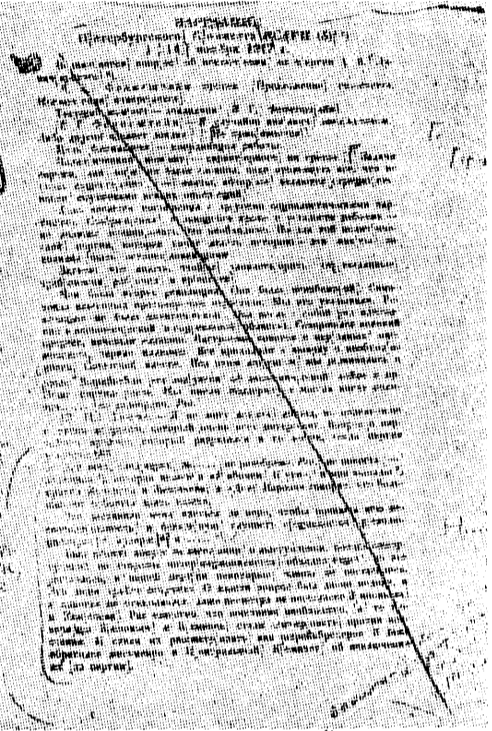
The same conservatism expressed in 1917 came to the fore and arrogantly staked out its claim for power following Lenin's death. Stalin and his faction



contemporary Stalinist painting of the famous scene left. Note that Trotsky and Kamenev, shown to the



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Lenin in 1917... through... theoretical... onary move... Lenin's con... the need for... against oppor... and their... nature of the... resolved in... to be of a... raic charac... Trotsky, but... including Sta... -vast Trotsky... was meant to... of Bolshevik... about all of

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as he lyingly asserted that Trotsky was in pay of the fascists to overthrow Soviet rule and restore capitalism.

Who slaughtered the cream of the Soviet military leadership and tremendously weakened the USSR in the face of the fascist threat? Who trusted Hitler up until the very moment of the invasion? History records on all these questions that it was Stalin, not Trotsky who betrayed the revolution. So Lumer substitutes a slanderous aside for a concrete examination of these questions.

Lumer and the rest of the Communist Party leadership along with him continue to defend all the old Stalinist slanders. The Political Affairs article is proof of this. At the same time they remain silent on the counterrevolutionary crimes of Stalin.

RECORD

These are not sentimental questions, but life and death matters for entire classes. Lumer and Company defend Stalin's beheading of the world working class. The CPUSA has a record of

Stalin (top right), Zinoviev (middle right), and Kamenev (bottom right) tried to accommodate the party to the bourgeois Provisional Government (shown above with Kerensky fourth from left) while Lenin was forced to fight these "Old Bolsheviks" in order to go forward on the basis of the April Theses to the victory in October.

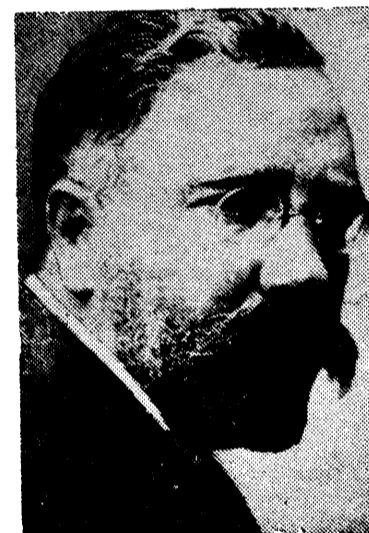
forty years of lies and slanders as the most devoted agents of the Moscow bureaucracy. The CPUSA is one of the few Communist Parties whose loyalty to Moscow is so unquestioning that it swallows the whole lot, up to and including the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

We are not impressed by Lumer's attempt to appear objective. This is not objectivity but evasion and more sophisticated slander. But these questions cannot be avoided. Revisionism leads into the camp of the class enemy. There can be no separation between incorrect theory and betrayals of the working class when these theories are put into practice. This is the lesson of Stalinism. We must turn our attention in more detail to the betrayals

and crimes of Stalinism and the responsibility of Lumer and his party for these crimes.

FOOTNOTES


1. Political Affairs, Sept.-Oct. 1969, pp.42-43
2. My Life, by L. Trotsky, Grosset and Dunlap, p. 333
3. The Prophet Armed, by I. Deutscher, Vintage Books, p. 88
4. The Prophet Armed, by I. Deutscher, Vintage Books, p. 146
5. My Life, Chapter XII, pp.150-164
6. Political Affairs, Sept.-Oct. 1969, pp.43-44
7. The Permanent Revolution, by L. Trotsky, New Park, pp. 152-155
8. The Platform of the Left Opposition, New Park, p.99
9. Ibid., p.41
10. Lenin and Leninism, by J. Stalin, p.40
11. Stalin, Works, Vol. 6 p.110
12. The Age of Permanent Revolution: A Trotsky Anthology, ed. I. Deutscher, p.65. Quoted in Political Affairs, op. cit., p.44
13. The Permanent Revolution, op. cit., p.73
14. Ibid., p.74
15. Ibid., p.153
16. The History of the Russian Revolution, by L. Trotsky, Vol. I, p.277
17. Ibid., p.278
18. Ibid., pp.286-288
19. Ibid., p.284
20. Ibid., p.295
21. Ibid., p.305
22. The Permanent Revolution, op. cit., p.97
23. Political Affairs, op. cit., pp.45-46



Lenin is shown at left presenting his famous April Theses to the Party.

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NDP, SEPARATISM AND PABLOISM IN CANADA

BY TIM WOHLFORTH
MONTREAL—AS PROVINCIAL elections near, the Quebec political situation is marked by a heightening of class tensions which in turn reveal the particularly pernicious role played by the revisionists in relation to French separatism.

The international capitalist crisis is now finding an extremely sharp expression throughout Canada. Precisely Canada's late and uneven industrial boom makes it vulnerable under international conditions of sharp crisis and capitalist rivalries.

Canada is the country where the penetration of U.S. capital, which has so marked America's relation to the rest of the imperialist world, has proceeded the furthest. But at the same time Canada is an imperialist power in its own right. Canada is a country where French separatism grows precisely at the time when the rapid industrial development destroys the material basis of French Canadian nationalism in the countryside. It is a country with a weak central government and where each region has close economic ties with the corresponding region of the United States.

SHARP

The last few months have seen sharp class fights across Canada as workers seek to maintain their living standards under attack through inflation, while the bosses seek to straightjacket the workers and force the workers to pay for their crisis. Nothing expresses the political situation in Canada more sharply than the situation in the two neighboring provinces of Ontario and Quebec where the bulk of Canadians live. In Ontario the Provincial Government moves ahead with its Rand Report which will virtually bar strikes and tie the unions to the state, while in Quebec there has been police action, martial law, and now the use of strike breakers against the militant working class and the students.

In Canada today all the objective conditions are present for a rapid radicalization of the Canadian working class which can lead to the growth of the revolutionary party not only in Canada but contribute to its development in the United States. But here also we see sharply posed the question of the crisis of leadership which stands at the center of Trotsky's Transitional Program. This is why the role of the Pabloite League for Socialist Action, headed by Ross Dawson, becomes so significant.

UNITY

As the objective movement of the class across Canada opens up the possibility as well as the necessity for the unity of the Canadian working class in a common socialist struggle against the capitalists, as well as its unity with American workers and workers internationally, the role of the middle class radicals, with a theoretical cover from the LSA, is to split the working class on provincial lines and reinforce its dominance by reactionary and reformist forces. The Pabloites, instead of fighting for class unity against divisive forces, actually reflect the divisions of the class to the point of maintaining completely unrelated and separate political orientations in the two neighboring provinces.

In Ontario and throughout the rest of Canada, the LSA supports the New Democratic Party, recognizing it as the poli-

tical arm of the Canadian working class in this period. However, as we have noted in previous articles, within the NDP they completely liquidate themselves into the Watkins "Waffle Caucus." This caucus, rather than struggling to expose the reformist leadership of the NDP and building an alternative revolutionary leadership in the process, seeks to tie the Canadian working class to the Canadian bourgeoisie through Canadian nationalism.

But it must be said for the LSA in Ontario that it correctly recognizes the importance of the Canadian workers supporting a working class party as against the capitalist parties even though the LSA is incapable of taking the workers through the kind of struggle which will expose the leadership of this party and in the process construct an alternative revolutionary party. The Canadian Maoists simply con-

cession to the separatists at least wish to create the appearance that they have a completely separate organization in the province.

Politically the main strategy of the Pabloites in Quebec is to support French separatism. They claim that the French Canadians represent an oppressed colony within Canada. They are unable to explain why it is that Quebec then is the only industrialized colony in the world, or why, while it is true that French Canadian wages are lower than the average in Ontario and unemployment higher, wages in the English speaking Maritime Provinces are lower still and unemployment is higher still?

UNILINGUALISM

The Pabloites not only advocate Quebec becoming a separate country, but

out by the extensive industrialization of the past period. While the separatists attack the Italian workers who want their children taught the English language, their real fear is of the turning of the French Canadian youth themselves not only away from the French language, but of all the backward cultural tradition wound up in that language.

Let us remember that the symbol of French Canada is not the tri-color of the French Revolution but the Fleur de Lys of the old Bourbon monarchy and the church. Behind the radical rhetoric of the separatists stands the church and the Fleur de Lys, not secularism and the red flag.

NDP

In Quebec, the Pabloites do not at all raise the question of the NDP even though the trade unions in the province affiliated with the CLC support the NDP. The NDP is something for the rest of Canada. What this reflects is an acceptance of the divisions of the class and a refusal to take up the fight in any way for a unified national party of the Canadian working class separate from the capitalist parties.

This refusal to raise the question of the NDP in Quebec is covered by the call for a "labor party" in Quebec. But why call for one in Quebec when one already exists in Canada as a whole? Clearly the call for a labor party in Quebec is a concession to separatism and what is really being advocated is a French Canadian labor party independent of the NDP in the rest of Canada, much as the Jewish Bund stood independent of the Social Democratic Party throughout Russia.

NEGATIVE

While the Pabloites lay heavy emphasis on the highly explosive character of the French Canadian working class—even claiming the French workers to be way in advance of workers in the rest of Canada—they leave out of this characterization the negative side of the French working class' consciousness and organization. True, on the trade union front the French Canadian workers have expressed great militancy with all the spirit and determination of a working class newly entering the arena of struggle. But it is also true that when the provincial elections are held in the next weeks, these French Canadian workers will vote almost to a man for bourgeois candidates. In this important political sense the French Canadian workers are trailing behind the workers in Ontario and BC.

It is precisely French Canadian separatism which is responsible for politically tying the French Canadian workers to the bourgeois parties and to all the cultural and clerical backwardness of Quebec Province. The critically dangerous role of the Pabloites is to give this all a "Marxist" cover at a time when the class struggle itself is laying the basis for the French Canadian workers to join the working class throughout Canada politically.

QUESTIONS

We ask the LSA-LSO are you for Quebec workers voting for the NDP in the upcoming provincial elections? If so, will you issue a leaflet to that effect? If not how do you wish that they vote—for the petty bourgeois Parti Quebecois? What is the exact relationship between the LSA and LSO? Are they but two names for the same party or does the LSO have autonomy? If so, autonomy on what matter—perhaps on matters pertaining to French Quebec ala the Jewish Bund?

Pabloism begins with the existing conditions created by capitalism and adapts to those conditions with the pragmatic method. It does this in all countries. In Canada this leads the Pabloites into advocating completely contradictory policies in two neighboring provinces.

Thus Pabloism not only accepts the divisions in the class but seeks to reinforce these divisions. This not only leads to bourgeois dominance over the French Canadian working class through separatism but it also leads to bourgeois dominance of the rest of the Canadian working class through petty bourgeois Canadian nationalism within the NDP.



LSA members march with others in support of the NDP in Ontario while LSO members march in Quebec for separatism and refuse to fight for a vote for the NDP in Province.



denn the NDP altogether and preach rank and file "militancy," thus encouraging syndicalist illusions and the backward sections of the working class that vote for the liberals or other bourgeois parties.

QUEBEC

In Quebec the Canadian Pabloites proceed with a completely separate perspective, with the flimsiest of attempts to connect one perspective with the other. The LSA does not even exist as the LSA in Quebec Province. It is called Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and its youth affiliate is the Ligue des Jeunes Socialiste. This is not a mere matter of translation, as in English this would be the Socialist Workers League. While the youth in the rest of Canada are called the Young Socialists, in Quebec it would be translated the Young Socialist League.

What the exact relationship beyond this difference in name is not clear, but what is clear is that the Pabloites as a con-

support the most reactionary demand of the separatists—unilingualism. In place of the correct democratic demand which socialists must support for the full equality of both the French and English language on all levels of Canadian life, the separatists now demand that French be the only language of Quebec and that the 17% of the population which has spoken English for 300 years be forced to use French.

The imposition of English on French speaking workers can in no way justify the imposition of French on English speaking workers. Such an approach can only produce what Lenin called "petty squabbling" between language groups and deepen the divisions in the class.

DESPERATION

Unilingualism is really an expression of the desperation of the separatists who seek to maintain a language, culture and way of life rooted in a rural and semi-feudal past which has been all but wiped

what is the patriot party?

BY MARK ROSENZWEIG
IF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY's unholy alliance with the Communist Party and Shirley Chisholm of the Democratic Party were not enough to discredit the Panthers politically in the eyes of any black workers and youth who looked to them for leadership, then their support of the reactionary racist Patriot Party in their so-called Rainbow Coalition will certainly dispel any illusions about their playing anything but the most opportunist anti-working class role.

Under the guidance of the Stalinist Communist Party, the Panthers adopted the infamous program of the popular front (Dimitroff's "United Front Against Fascism"). This perspective literally immobilized the European working class in the face of fascism in the 1930s. It is the logic of the popular front which is expressed in the Black Panther Party's moves to form the Rainbow Coalition, a coalition of independent black, white and Puerto Rican "parties".

This, on the surface, appears to represent a change at least in the Panthers' "black only" orientation. But in fact it means only an extension of the class logic of that orientation. For their support of separate racial parties is merely another expression of their denial of the need for class struggle and working class unity. The Panthers are forced with the deepening of the class struggle to push the popular front and call for the formation of a coalition of racially based political parties in order to better obscure the class struggle. This is the role they play. In fact this is the essence of all middle class radicalism in this period—an attempt to deny the actual opposing class forces.

"PEOPLE"

The Patriot Party, white section of the Rainbow Coalition, exhibits clearly the total bankruptcy and dangers of the ideology of the whole coalition. Under the Panther slogan of "All Power to the People" they work only with the white lumpen proletariat around a reformist program, adapting themselves at every point to the consciousness of the declassed and most demoralized elements.

This party is openly hostile to the working class, and poses the lumpen proletariat as the force for "revolution." In an interview with the *Guardian* (Feb. 14, 1970), the defense captain of the Patriot Party put it this way: "We're into organizing the lumpen proletariat, the black and white niggers, that's us. The lumpen have always been the moving force in any revolution...the whole movement has got to recognize this."

Everyone in the Rainbow Coalition has his own interpretation of who "the people" are. The Patriots fight for their "people," and their people alone—the "poor whites." No section of the coalition fights for the working people, the working class. This is the principle which unites the Rainbow Coalition. It



Above are members of the Patriot Party with their Confederate Flag buttons. At right is leader "Preacherman" Bill Fesperman. The group idealizes the lumpenproletariat.

ignores the needs of the working class because the elements on which it bases itself are hostile to the interests of the the working class, in subjugating it to the most backward classless elements, it fights against the very struggle which poses the way forward for these elements from the swamp of poverty and degradation.

The Patriot Party uses the word "socialism" to describe their program. It is certainly not the socialism of Marx and Lenin. It is more like the degenerate populism of the Southern demagogue Huey Long. One has but to look at the centerfold of the first issue of *The Patriot*, their newspaper. It is a centerfold picture of a Confederate flag (suitable for framing).

CONFEDERATE

The Patriots have a curious nostalgia for the good old days of slavery and feudalism in America. For them the "rebel" South was the embodiment of Revolution. Printed on the flag in the centerfold of the paper is a statement by "Preacherman, Chairman of the Patriot Party" explaining the significance of the Confederate flag: "We would like to make a small historical correction. The spirit of this flag—this symbol of fascism for 100 years—is the spirit of true rebellion, the spirit of the people and not of the ruling class. We have to endorse rebellion against the decadent capitalist state. All revolutionary law boils down to one—it is right to rebel. The seeds of revolutionary rebellion exist within the masses of oppressed whites in general and Southern whites in particular."

The real meaning of this perspective should be clear. According to the statement by the Patriot Party's leader, this organization would have to support the "rebellion" of the "poor whites" in Lamar, South Carolina against the black school children.

This says a lot about their own "Revolutionary" program. In reality the South represented everything reactionary. The culture which developed on the basis of the feudal plantation economy was a backward racist culture. It is on this that the Patriots base their political program—on an appeal for the resurrection of the Old South. They consider the Civil War an injustice perpetrated on the Southerners by the predatory northern capitalists. This is really the source of their "anti-capitalism."

That the Civil War meant progress, that it meant industrialization and a breakdown of slavery does not seem to occur to them. It is impossible for them to understand the transformation of capitalism from a progressive to a reactionary force. They are blind to the development of the class struggle. They see the world only from the perspective of the demagogic Southern ideologist who talks about how the big Northern capitalists were crushing the people, the little man.

FASCISM

Because they do not start from the class struggle the Patriots have no claim to socialism. Rather they share a close kinship with the ideologists of fascism, who also talked about "the people" and "big business." If the Patriots claim



to be against capitalism, it is because they represent something even more reactionary, or its most reactionary aspects.

They do not really see the possibility of a revolutionary progressive change. Rather they are preparing to force concessions from capitalism at the expense of the working class and its struggle. In fact it will mean that the forces they represent will become, in exchange for promise of reforms, the actual force of the capitalists for the crushing of the working class.

The very name of the Patriot Party betrays the class nature of the organization. It really begs the question: "What are they so patriotic about?" What is their patriotism but pure national and racial chauvinism, based on the illusions (spread by the capitalist class and born of the hegemony of U.S.

imperialism) of the superiority of America and white supremacy.

Another aspect of this patriotism is their acknowledgement in agreement with the Panthers of the possibility, if not inevitably, of a racial war in which Patriot would be fighting Panther. According to the logic of the Rainbow Coalition, since each group owes its allegiance to its racial brothers, if racial violence should break out, the Patriots would be duty-bound to "defend their own"—would defend white supremacy and the racism of the ruling class.

In the same statement quoted above by "Preacherman" the Patriots say: "Poor whites will no longer voluntarily remain at the caboose of the train. And if you force us into a race war, even if you are able to lie that well again, just remember that we'll still get to you—our real enemy, our class oppressor—in the final struggle."

DANGER

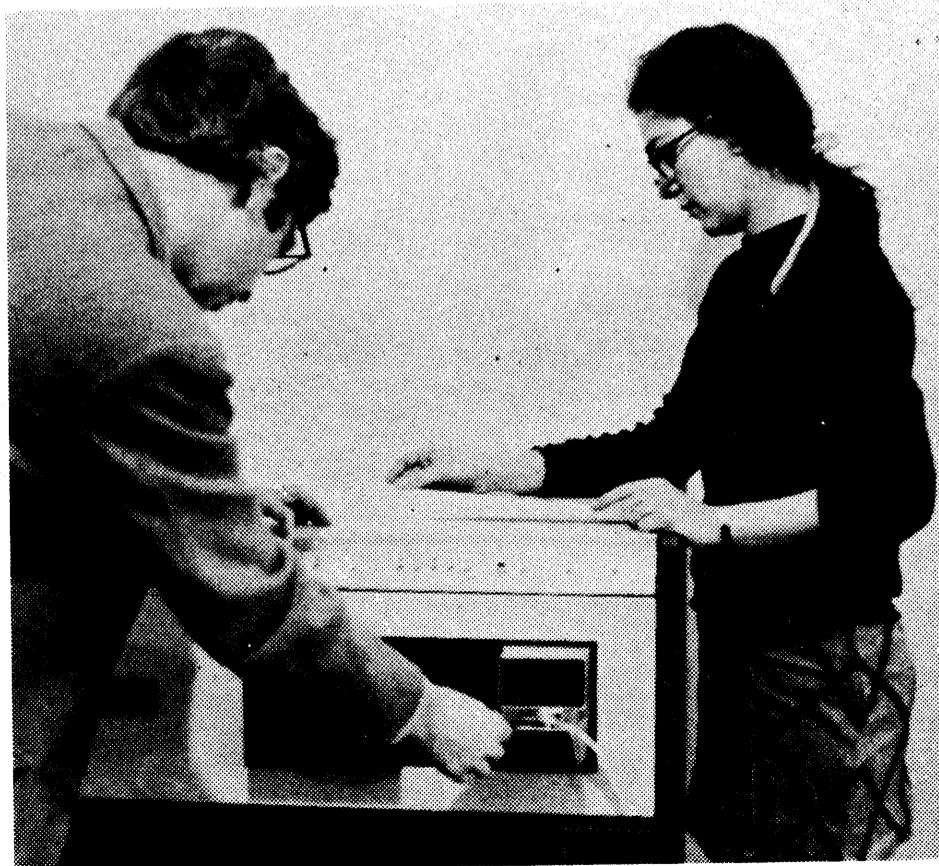
This alone shows how counter-revolutionary their "patriotism" is and gives us a clue to the real danger of the Patriot Party.

The Patriot Party is a product of American political development and its growth will directly affect the political struggles of the future. It reflects the panic of a section of the middle class that rejects the historic role of the working class and seeks a compromise with capitalism. The populism of the Patriots is even more dangerous today than in the past. Objectively it can serve the capitalists as an actual bludgeon against the revolutionary movement of the working class, preventing the working class from moving independently, politically against capitalism.

Fascism will develop in this country on precisely the political foundation the Patriot organization reflects. The confederate flag is not the only thing that the Patriot Party and George Wallace have in common. The Patriot Party together with Wallace defend the anti-labor racist policies of the Southern bourgeoisie. The Panthers and Young Lords have in fact joined with the very forces who spew forth the ideology of the most open defenders of racism.

This is the real political lesson of the role of the popular front, the alliance of the working class with a section of the capitalist class. Behind this Rainbow Coalition is the full support of the Communist Party which today prepares the betrayals of the working class just as it did in the 1930s.

The only alternative to the rise of fascism is building a revolutionary party based not on race but on the working class, which unites all sections of the class, all races, and poses the independent struggle against capitalism.



Tim Wohlforth (left), National Secretary of Workers League, feeds tape into new phototypesetter while Lucy St. John, Editor of Bulletin, reads over galley of copy. This new equipment was made possible by the aid of our supporters and readers everywhere.

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Tugboatmen leave Manhattan Center after voting to accept new contract after long strike.

Tugboatmen Win Major Gains

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, April 6—The settlement of the sixty day strike by National Maritime Union Local 333 in New York Harbor shows what the united strength of the rank and file can do.

The 41% wage increase spread over three years, reportedly the highest won after any strike, set a precedent for the rest of the NMU and indeed for all of labor.

At the same time it must be pointed out that this increase still leaves the tugboat men behind the wage level of other skilled workers. The settlement does not eliminate the problem of hours, in which the men actually work more hours than they are paid for, and it does not provide guarantees on jobs and working conditions on the new automated boats.

For decades the leadership of the NMU has refused to fight for an increase in wages for the tugboat men. The wage raise obtained in this settlement was won as a result of the tremendous militancy of the rank and file.

Despite everything the bureaucrats and the Coast Guard could do to weaken or break the strike, it remained solid until the last day. With the strike hardly one week old, Governor Cahill of New Jersey used the courts to seize sewage barges and arranged through President Nixon to have the Coast Guard break the strike by towing the barges, usually worked by Local 333 men, out to sea to dump the sludge.

Instead of mobilizing the ranks and other labor support, Captain O'Hare, President of Local 333, agreed to allow the barges to be worked by their regular crews. Although O'Hare and other 333 bureaucrats had promised the ranks that they would mobilize the ILA and the rest of maritime labor, they never even set up a single picket line much less went to other unions for support.

Despite this leadership the ranks remained firm and shouted down the bureaucrats' attempts to settle for 32% instead of the 100% originally demanded. It was in fact only this strength and determination of the ranks and the potential threat of a complete shutdown of the port by

the NMU and the ILA that got the final settlement.

The gains won by the tug and barge crews can only mean a sharpening of the conflict in maritime, an industry which has survived only through massive subsidies from the government. This strike and the introduction of the Nixon Maritime Plan into Congress mark the start of a new era in maritime. The potential for great gains for the NMU and also the risk of its being smashed by Nixon and Congress, become more obvious every day. The ranks must assimilate the lessons of the New York Harbor strike and carry forward the wage offensive based on their own enormous strength when united in struggle.

At the same time the use of troops in the Post Office strike, the use of the Coast Guard against Local 333, and Nixon's proposed laws make it crystal clear that the task now is to develop the political leadership necessary to defeat Nixon, the Congress and the courts.

The task set before the ranks of Local 333 and the rest of the union remains that of developing new leadership from within the ranks to protect their gains and strengthen the union against renewed attacks in the form of antistrike laws, speedup, scab vessels and crew cuts which the bosses and Nixon must now try to launch.

This struggle must go forward on a program designed to unify the NMU and defend it against Nixon:

- Stop the new Taft-Hartley law and the Nixon Maritime Plan!
- Bring the passenger liners out of layup with full manning!
- Preserve NMU jobs through two fully paid crews for each vessel!
- Forward with the wage offensive!
- Organize the unorganized—No more scab boats and underpaid foreign flag vessels!
- Build a labor party to carry forward the fight against Nixon and Congress!

rightist terrorists strike at stony brook blacks

BY A STONY BROOK STUDENT

STONY BROOK, N.Y. —Repeatedly the idealist illusion is smashed that one can escape the harsh realities of our world. The State University of New York at Stony Brook is once again the scene of attacks by "vigilante" rightist elements.

This campus, originally conceived for the pursuit of bourgeois education in the "idyllic stillness" of Long Island, has been intermittently and rudely awakened for more than a year now, by the war cries of its furthest right wing.

HOOLIGANS

Spring 1969 saw the emergence of a bunch of hooligans calling themselves "Easy Company" which almost succeeded in provoking a full scale racial conflict by its attacks on leftist and black students. In September 1969 the Moderate Students Organization, under the guise of adherence to parliamentary procedure, succeeded in freezing all student organization budget monies. The purpose of these moves was to attack the funding of Black Students United and SDS.

Now as the 1970 strike wave in the U.S. and antagonism against imperialism in Southeast Asia mount, the frantic measures taken by the capitalists to defend their system are stepped up. Racism, one of its most effective measures, is unleashed with fury. This venom and these measures are mirrored in microcosm even in the idyll of Stony Brook.

WALLACE

In the last month, a group claiming to be the National Youth Alliance, a pro-Wallace organization, whose membership at Stony Brook remains anonymous to date, has caused a major racial confrontation. This began with the burning of the doors of the offices of three professors this spring. One of the professors is the head of the Black Studies Program. The other two professors are white; their doors were covered with Black Panther and other political literature of a radical nature. In a note left by those responsible, all three were blamed for harboring black racism and putting the blame for racism entirely on whites.

TENSIONS

Directly afterward, in a milieu of rising racial tensions, shots were fired into the offices of the High School Equivalency Program (HEP) which is geared to the high school aged children of migrant farm workers. What we are seeing now is the attempt to intensify racial antagonisms which could precipitate into full-scale conflict.

The Workers League recognizes these right wing attacks as the work of provocateurs whose design it is to inflame racial confrontations which will necessitate violent police intervention. Already the Black Students Union has staged a confrontation with the acting president

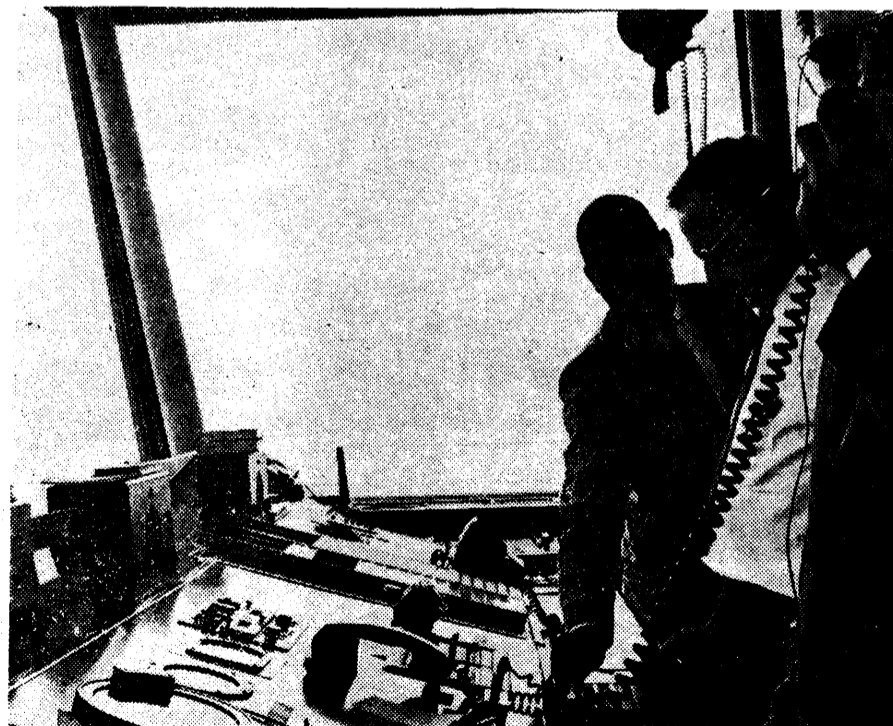
of the University, centering around the demand for an investigation of the attacks combined with other demands.

AGENTS

However the situation at Stony Brook must immediately be exposed in the context of the larger CLASS forces at work. The attackers are the agents of the ruling class and the attacks on the black and left organizations must be seen as part and parcel of the attacks by the capitalist class on the working class.

These attacks must be answered by the student body in unison. What is necessary is the formation of a committee of students to investigate the attacks and to deal with these elements in a unified effort, uniting black and white students. An all out political struggle must be waged against this proto-fascism and against the wider repression against the working class from which it stems.

striking controllers defy federal court, leaders



Air controllers have resorted to sick call-in after frustration with inaction.

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

April 6—The striking members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization must force the PATCO leaders to make their strike official. The Post Office strike negotiations make it clear that when F. Lee Bailey, Executive Director for the Controllers Organization calls for a return to work before bargaining can begin, he is proposing a sellout. The refusal of the Federal Aviation Agency to even meet with the PATCO leadership

shows the government's aim to smash the union, not to bargain with it.

This latest flareup in a two year long battle for union recognition and improvements in working conditions was in fact set off by the FAA's transferring and then firing three active PATCO members. Following this, on March 25th, the controllers began to call in sick. The government and the Air Transport Association responded with injunctions against the union barring sick calls. The union and its

leaders were also cited for contempt and threatened with fines and jail sentences. The FAA sent letters to the strikers saying they would be fined two days' pay for every day out if they returned to work, and fired if they didn't. Rank and file leaders of the walkout were threatened with even harsher penalties.

The threats have only strengthened the men's willingness to fight. Nationwide, 50% of the controllers in PATCO are out, in New York and Kansas City 60%, and in Chicago 75%. Hundreds of flights have been cancelled.

In the face of this militancy, the deal cooked up by F. Lee Bailey and Federal Judge George Hart is the most self-serving opportunism. In return for dropping charges against himself and two other union officials, while all charges against the rest of the union are continued for further action, Bailey began sending telegrams to the locals urging them to stop the wildcat. He also called on President Nixon to appoint a federal mediator for the strike. The men responded with hundreds of angry phone calls denouncing the back to work plea.

Retreat from a united strike opens the way for the destruction of the air controllers' union. The ranks must demand that the strike be made official and that it continue until the following demands are met:

- Full union recognition and the right to strike.
- An end to speedup and compulsory overtime.
- Immediate hiring of new controllers and a cut in the workweek to 30 hours with no cut in take home pay.
- No reprisals.

1199 Leaders Fear Militants on Contract

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—As the contract deadline for hospital workers approaches, the 1199 leadership is in a panic. Despite the tremendous militancy among the ranks, the 1199 leaders have given no hint of what the demands will be.

Knowing full well that the hospital bosses are determined to hold down wages and are prepared to use compulsory arbitration to do it, they have prepared no fight for July. In fact the Davis leadership has already shown its refusal to challenge the bosses in its acceptance of massive job cuts over the past year. The capitulation on the job freeze should serve as a warning to hospital workers as to what they can expect from this leadership in July.

The leadership's fear of the contract fight and their preparation for a sell-out were exposed last week when they launched an attack on union militants. Two representatives of the Rank and File Committee from Beth Israel and Kingsbrook Jewish Hospitals were elected by their chapters to the negotiating committee.

These workers won the election on a pledge to wage a determined fight for the following demands in July: a 25% increase in each year of a 2 year contract with a minimum wage to be reached of \$150; a cost of living escalator clause, no job cuts, rehiring of all jobs cut out by the job freeze, and the right to negotiate work loads to fight speedup, elimination of the no-strike pledge and improvements in fringe benefits.

Immediately following these elections the leadership had a petition circulated to call for a new election on the pretext that the first vote was not "democratic." Fearing the ranks' willingness to fight, the 1199 leaders are prepared to do anything to remove these militants from the negotiating committee, even if it means jeopardizing its much vaunted "democratic" image. To do this they have relied on the most conservative and backward elements in the Guild Division; elements

who are not sure there should be a union at all.

REALISTIC

The leadership has denounced any talk about strike as irresponsible. While they give lip service to "tough negotiations ahead," they have urged members to be "realistic." In other words we should not ask for more than the bosses decide they can afford.

While the politicians are already discussing arbitration to force a settlement on the workers, the silence of the 1199 leadership can only mean one thing—they are preparing to capitulate to such an arbitration scheme. Precisely at a time when they should be mobilizing the workers for a showdown, they are attempting to lull the union to sleep.

In order to expose the record of this leadership and to begin the fight for an alternative leadership, the Rank and File Committee is running Fred Mazelis as a candidate for Guild Organizer in the April union elections.

The campaign of the Rank and File Committee is based on a program for victory in the July contract, to stop the job freeze and attacks on working conditions and to make real wage gains against inflation.

POLITICAL

The fight for a new leadership of 1199 is not isolated from the questions facing the entire labor movement. The Rank and File Committee will bring into this campaign the need for a political fight by the union against the attacks by the government on the right to strike, as was seen in the Postal Strike, and against unemployment and inflation.



Bureau of Child Welfare workers, all members of SSEU-371, hit the pavement in the rain in a struggle against reorganization which Morgenstern, Hill and Agostini sold out.

morgenstern gang sells out bcw ranks

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—As the SSEU-371 election campaign swings into its final week the real fruits of the policies of the Morgenstern leadership, and its erstwhile supporters in the Hill and Agostini slates, are hitting the membership.

Last week workers at the Lafayette Bureau of Child Welfare Center were transferred to a new center in Brooklyn. Tied to these transfers was the provision that the workers take with them to the new center the uncovered cases. This was done despite promises from Morgenstern that workers would be hired or transferred from reorganized centers to handle the excess cases. Obviously the City has no intention of hiring workers, since its whole reorganization plan has been to cut jobs and double the workload for each worker.

On Thursday, April 3rd the ranks at BCW refused to transfer and set up a picket line at the new center. A rank and file negotiating team was set up which demanded the right to negotiate directly with the head of the department, Goldberg.

In this struggle the Committee for New Leadership fought against Morgenstern and Hill, pointing out that the BCW workers were leading the way for all workers in the fight for jobs and the fight against reorganization. In a leaflet put out during the action, the CNL demanded that the rank and file committee have the right to negotiate directly with Goldberg for immediate full rehiring, an equitable transfer procedure and guarantees against the liquidation of BCW jobs. The CNL demanded that the entire union be called out in support of the BCW workers if any were suspended or if Goldberg refused to negotiate with the ranks. This action was completely sabotaged by the Morgenstern leadership. Morgenstern's attitude toward the action was expressed in his warning of the workers that they were violating the Taylor anti-strike law if they proceeded any further.

He prevented the rank and file team from negotiating with Goldberg and pressured the ranks into accepting the transfers with the string that the problem of the uncovered cases would be taken up by the Workload and Reorganization Committee. Morgenstern's left cover was that the workers should transfer but refuse to accept the cases.

In this sellout Morgenstern has had the full complicity of the current Vice President, Stanley Hill, who is running a slate in opposition to Morgenstern in the election. Every attempt was made by both Morgenstern and Hill to isolate the action at BCW and avoid confronting the real basis of the problem—reorganization. This has been the record of both Hill and Morgenstern, who have stood together 100% in refusing to take up the struggle against the City and its plans of job cuts, speedup and reorganization.

Morgenstern in his election campaign is attempting to sell his betrayals and

his refusal to fight reorganization on the basis that reorganization is a fact of life—it is happening all over the country!

Hill at the same time is trying with the most blatant display of opportunism to whitewash his complicity with Morgenstern by suddenly saying that job security is a major issue. The facts are that Morgenstern and Hill have been in the same bed from the beginning.

The Coalition slate of Ray Agostini, which is supported by Progressive Labor, has remained silent during the BCW struggle just as it has supported the Morgenstern-Hill leadership down the line on refusing to fight reorganization.

The Committee for New Leadership slate headed by Dennis Cribben is the only alternative for the ranks of SSEU-371. Only the CNL has fought from the beginning against the City's attacks through reorganization and sought to mobilize the ranks against these plans at each point. The questions that members of SSEU-371 must ask themselves when they vote on April 17th are: Do you want more demotions and overwork? Do you want to be laid off? Do you want to see the union destroyed by the City?

The only way to stop the City's offensive is to elect and build a new leadership which will fight for the interests of the ranks, which will take up the fight against reorganization, against the war in Vietnam and against the anti-union measures of the government.

This means the ranks must vote on April 17th for the Committee for New Leadership.

ITU Faces Critical Negotiations Over Automation and Wages

BY AN ITU MEMBER

NEW YORK—Union printers in the International Typographical Union No. 6 and nine other craft unions representing 13,000 workers have rejected the 16.5% wage increase spread over a 3 year period offered last week by the *New York Times*, the *Daily News*, the *New York Post*, and the *Long Island Press*.

Bertram Powers, President of the ITU #6, has been holding daily shop meetings in the composing room of the *New York Times* to put pressure on the *Times* by a cutback in setting type, primarily in advertising.

The newspapers were shut down in New York in 1962-63—the only strike by the ITU in an effort to break from "pattern bargaining" for collective bargaining and substantial wage gains.

The newspaper bosses want a good clean agreement which will allow them composing room freedom and enable them to produce competitively and without being burdened with restrictive practices and extra manpower.

The job action taken by the ITU against the *New York Times* for a new contract must be seen as a life and death struggle for the printing trade and not just a fight for substantial wage increases.

Automation is the central issue. The publishers want unrestricted use of tape-produced typesetting. Electronic equipment which the major newspapers have prepared to introduce in the shop produce type at the rate of 120 lines a minute. Linotypists now set from 6 to 7 lines a minute. With the introduction of this equipment, linotype will be wiped out. This will throw hundreds of men out of work along with the hundreds of

experienced men who already shape up every morning at the hiring halls of the ITU and are given the lowest seniority in the composing rooms where they work from week to week as temporaries.

TECHNOLOGY

Already computers, the highest form of technology being introduced in printing are being organized in the Book and Job Work division of the ITU.

Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Kopeck stated in the January issue of the *Monthly Bulletin*, comparing the ITU to the situation of the miners: "A once powerful group caught up in new technology and borne upon a tide of inevitable change to a relatively impotent condition." He then went on to say: "If we think in terms of lines of type we are doomed to an agonizing death as a labor union...New techniques are not to be feared by adaptable people."

The union has stated that they will agree to automation, but insist on careful controls. The rank and file must see that there are no job cuts through the introduction of this electronic equipment. Let the workers benefit from automation by a shorter work week. No concessions on working conditions!

SUPPORT

Any strike action must not be limited to just the Newspaper division but the Book and Job Work division must be called out at the same time because they are faced with the same critical question of automation.

All labor must join in support of the printing trades unions in the fight for higher wages and against unemployment. This has become a critical question in all unions with the rate of unemployment now 7% and automation and reorganization schemes being introduced in the Post Office, social services, longshore, maritime and other craft unions.

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